

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO AMEMBASSY SAIGON IMMEDIATE

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S E C R E T JAKARTA 679

EXDIS

PERSONAL FOR AMBASSADOR MARTIN FROM AMBASSADOR NEWSOM

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR VS ID OTRA

SUBJ: VISIT OF AMBASSADOR MARTIN TO INDONESIA

REF: SAIGON 575

1. DEEPLY APPRECIATE YOUR WILLINGNESS COME ON SUCH
SHORT NOTICE. DELIGHTED ALL MARTINS ARE COMING.
RESIDENCE GUEST QUARTERS ARE READY. STATION CHIEF
WILL ARRANGE ACCOMMODATIONS POLGAR.

2. WHILE WE HAVE FACED INDICATIONS BEFORE OF POSSIBLE
INDONESIAN WITHDRAWAL FROM ICCS, BELIEVE RECENT
MILITARY ACTION IN VIETNAM COMBINED WITH ABSENCE OF
MOVEMENT ON ANY FRONT TOWARD SETTLEMENT, HAS MADE
SITUATION HERE MORE CRITICAL. INDONESIAN MILITARY,
WHICH HAS NEVER BEEN COMPLETELY HAPPY WITH FINANCIAL
BURDEN OF INDONESIAN CONTINGENCY AND ABSENCE OF
SUBSTANTIAL BLOC OF OFFICERS, IS INCREASINGLY FRUSTRATED
BY APPARENT LACK OF EFFECTIVENESS AND USEFULNESS OF
ICCS. PRESIDENT SUHARTO AND CIVILIAN POLICY MAKERS
INCREASINGLY CONCERNED WITH EXPOSURE OF INDONESIANS TO
POSSIBILITY CASUALTIES. GENERAL DECLINE IN US GRANT AID
AND UNCERTAINTIES ABOUT US INTENTIONS AND FURTHER US
DIPLOMATIC MOVES ALSO IMPORTANT FACTORS.

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3. WE ALSO FACE IN ANY DISCUSSION OF VIETNAM SPECIAL PROBLEM OF INDONESIAN NON-ALIGNED ATTITUDES. SUHARTO, DESPITE HIS STRONG ANTI-COMMUNIST FEELINGS, HAS NEVER FELT IT WAS POLITICALLY FEASIBLE TO REVERSE SUKARNO'S DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION OF HANOI. INDONESIANS HAVE ALSO TENDED TO SEE ALL WARS IN TERMS OF THEIR OWN STRUGGLE AGAINST DUTCH AND AGAINST INTERNAL COMMUNISTS AND HAVE BEEN VOCAL IN CRITICISM OF WAY WE AND SOUTH VIETHAMESE HAVE HANDLED WAR IN VIETNAM. YOU WILL HEAR MORE OF THIS WHEN YOU ARE HERE. WE HAVE LISTENED PATIENTLY AND AFTER THEY HAVE MADE THEIR POINTS, HAVE STEERED THEM BACK TO MORE IMMEDIATE AND VALID ISSUES.

4. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, PRIMARY ARGUMENTS LIKELY TO BE EFFECTIVE ARE:

A. THAT DESPITE SOME COMMUNIST GAINS IN LESS POPULATED AREAS, SITUATION IN SOUTH VIETNAM REMAINS STABLE AND PROSPECTS FOR SAIGON REGIME REMAIN GOOD.

B. THAT ICCS DESPITE FRUSTRATIONS CONTINUES TO PLAY IMPORTANT ROLE AND INDONESIAN WITHDRAWAL WOULD GIVE FILLIP TO COMMUNIST SIDE AND IN VIETNAM CONTEXT WOULD BE SERIOUS BLOW TO PROSPECTS FOR PEACE.

C. (IF YOU CAN SAY IT) THAT INDONESIAN CONTINGENT HAS BEEN MOST PROFESSIONAL, FORTHRIGHT, AND COURAGEOUS OF FOUR MEMBERS AND PRESENCE, THEREFORE, HAS VERY SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE.

D. THAT WHILE RECOGNIZING INDONESIA IS NOT CLOSE TO PRESIDENT THIEU'S GOVERNMENT, IT DOES REPRESENT ONLY HOPE FOR OTHER THAN COMMUNIST SOLUTION OF VIETNAM PROBLEM. IT IS VIABLE AND RECENT ACTIONS HAVE DEMONSTRATED GENUINE MILITARY CAPABILITY.

E. ANYTHING YOU CAN SAY ON US DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS ON BEHALF IMPLEMENTATION PARIS AGREEMENTS AND STRENGTHENING OF ICCS.

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F. YOUR BEST ESTIMATES OF DEGREE OF CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR OUR EFFORTS IN SVN.

5. THESE ARE PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS ON BASIS OUR READING OF INDONESIAN SITUATION. YOU WILL, OF COURSE, BE BEST JUDGE WITH YOUR OWN KNOWLEDGE OF SOUTH VIETNAM AND OF INDONESIANS IN SOUTH VIETNAM TO KNOW WHICH POINTS CAN BE MOST VALIDLY AND EFFECTIVELY PRESSED. WE ARE PREPARING

TELEGRAM OF POSSIBLE CONTINGENCY ACTIONS IN EVENT INDONESIA SHOULD PURSUE WITHDRAWAL WHICH WE WILL LOOK FORWARD TO DISCUSSING WITH YOU WHEN YOU ARE HERE.

6. IF NOT ALREADY ARRANGED, YOUR ENTRY HERE WILL BE SMOOTHEST IF INDONESIAN VISAS SECURED IN SAIGON.

7. MALIK INFORMED AND HAS ARRANGED PRELIMINARY MEETING FOR 4:00 P.M. JANUARY 18.

8. DAO COMMENTING SEPARATELY ABOUT AIRCRAFT CLEARANCE. NEWSOM

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NNN

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